

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 IO-11 ARA-06 SAJ-01 OMB-01

ACDA-05 /100 W

----- 059717

R 091730Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1697

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L CONAKRY 0485

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PGOV GV XY UR FR SG TO PL MZ AG ET NI SF ZA CG

SUBJECT: SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA - POSSIBLE MEETING OF
RADICAL BLOC LEADERS IN GUINEA

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETINGS WITH FRENCH AND US AMBASSADORS
MARCH 5 AND 7 AND IN SPEECH MARCH 8, SEKOU TOURE APPEARS
DEFENSIVE ABOUT WEIGHT OF SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA,
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ALTHOUGH HE REMAINS TOTALLY COMMITTED TO MORAL AND MILITARY

CRUSADE FOR LIBERATION AS HE DEFINES IT. TOURE IS ENDEAVORING
CONVENE MAJOR MEETING OF RADICAL AFRICAN LEADERS
TO REVIEW THESE ISSUES. IT IS RUMORED THAT CASTRO
PLANS STOPOVER CONAKRY EN ROUTE BACK TO HAVANA.
END SUMMARY.

2. DURING PRIVATE MEETING WITH SEKOU TOURE AND PRIMIN
BEAVOGUI MARCH 7, I NOTED THAT IN CONSULTATIONS NEXT WEEK IN
WASHINGTON I WOULD CERTAINLY BE QUESTIONED ABOUT THE
IMPLICATIONS AND PROBABLE DURATION OF THE STRIKING INCREASE
IN SOVIET AIR FORCE AND NAVAL PRESENCE IN CONAKRY. ON
STRICTLY PERSONAL BASIS, I ASKED TOURE'S ADVICE AS TO HOW
I SHOULD RESPOND. I MENTIONED MY UNDERSTANDING THAT PRIOR
TO ANGOLA CRISIS TOURE HAD OPPOSED GREAT POWER INTERVENTION
IN AFRICA.

3. TOURE THEN DELIVERED LONG HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE DECOLO-
NIZATION OF AFRICA, OF HIS CONFRONTATION WITH DEGAULLE, OF
HIS LIFELONG MORAL STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, OF THE SUPPORT PRO-
VIDED BY GUINEA TO EVERY INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE FROM LUMUMBA
TO NETO. HE REHERARSED HIS POSITION ON ANGOLA, ON ROBERTO'S
BETRAYAL OF AFRICA, ON SAVIMBI'S ALLIANCE WITH PRETORIA,
AND SO FORTH. CASTRO HAD ASKED HIS ADVICE ABOUT SENDING
TROOPS AND HE HAD URGED CASTRO TO PROVIDE AS MANY CUBANS AS
COULD BE SPARED. HE ASKED IF I KNEW THAT GUINEAN TROOPS
WERE IN ANGOLA TOO. SOVIETS AND CUBANS WERE HELPING TO SAVE
AFRICA FROM COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM. GUINEA WAS FREE,
INDEPENDENT NATION, POOR BUT PROUD, MASTER OF HER OWN HOUSE.

4. OUTSPOKEN BUT AMICABLE CONVERSATION ENSUED, IN WHICH
I WENT OVER US POSITION AS EXPRESSED BY SECRETARY IN RECENT
CONGRESSIONAL APPEARANCES REGARDING MPLA AND SOVIET/CUBAN INTER-
VENTION. TOURE INSISTED THAT ANGOLAN PEOPLE FULLY SUPPORTED
MPLA GOVERNMENT, AN OBSERVATION WHICH I NOTED WORLD OPINION
COULD ACCEPT ONLY IF SOVIET/CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES LEFT
ANGOLA. TOURE DID NOT JUSTIFY OR EXPLAIN SOVIET MILITARY
BUILDUP IN GUINEA EXCEPT IN RELATION ANGOLAN CRISIS. CONVER-
SATION CLOSED ON FRIENDLY TERMS WITH TOURE EXPRESSING APPRECI-
ATION FOR THE CANDOR OF OUR EXCHANGE.

5. FRENCH AMBASSADOR LEWIN, IN SEPARATE EARLIER MEETING WITH
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SEKOU TOURE MARCH 5, ASKED HOW LONG SOVIETS AND CUBAN TROOPS
WOULD STAY IN ANGOLA. TOURE ANSWERED THAT THIS WAS PROBLEM
WHICH GUINEAN NATIONAL POLITICAL BUREAU HAD BEEN STUDYING.
HE SAID NETO HAD TWO OPTIONS: SEND CUBANS HOME AND DEVOTE
HIS ENERGIES TO CONSOLIDATING HIS GOVERNMENT AND REBUILDING
HIS ECONOMY, OR TO EXPLOIT REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR AND LAUNCH
MILITARY CAMPAIGN TO THE SOUTH WITH SOVIET/CUBAN SPEARHEAD.
LEWIN SENSED THAT TOURE WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH PROBLEM OF

SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE.

6. TOURE ALSO TOLD LEWIN HE IS TRYING TO CONVENE MAJOR MEETING OF AFRICAN PROGRESSIVE LEADERS DURING SECOND HALF OF MARCH OR EARLY APRIL TO REVIEW THIS PROBLEM AND TO PLAN NEXT PHASE OF AFRICAN LIBERATION CAMPAIGN. SENIOR GUINEAN OFFICIALS WHO JUST ACCOMPANIED MININTERIOR ON AFRICAN TOUR HAS CONFIRMED TO EMBASSY THAT PURPOSE OF RECENT TRIPS BY GUINEAN PRIMMIN, FONMIN AND MININTERIOR HAS BEEN TO ORGANIZE THIS MEETING. (IT IS WIDELY RUMORED IN CONAKRY THAT CASTRO WILL VISIT CONAKRY OVER WEEKEND MARCH 13/14 EN ROUTE HAVANA AND THAT MACHEL, NETO, PERREIRA, CABRAL AND NGOUABI WILL SEE HIM HERE).

7. DURING STADIUM SPEECH OF WELCOME FOR VISITING PRESIDENT EYADEMA OF TOGO MARCH 8, MTOURE SAID QUOTE WE ARE ALIGNED WITH NO NATION IN THE WORLD. WE ASK USA, FRANCE, BRITAIN, GERMANY, CHINA AND THE USSR, ALL THE GREAT POWERS, TO TELL US IF THEY SEEK IN AFRICA PUPPETS WHO WILL BETRAY AFRICA ON A PLATTER OR PATRIOTS WHO DEFEND THE AFRICAN PEOPLE. DON'T CALL US ALIGNED BECAUSE ANGOLA IS AFRICA. ANGOLA IS NOT A SOVIET COUNTRY NOR AN AMERICAN COUNTRY. IMPERIALISM CLAIMS IT IS THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS WHO ARE IN ANGOLA. WHO ARE THEY FOOLING? THOSE WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND. IF THE US SENDS US SHIPS, PLANES AND TROOPS AGAINST APARTHEID WE WILL APPLAUD THE ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICANS. THE AMERICANS NEED ONLY SEND US ARMAMENTS TO THROW THE COLONIALISTS AND USURPERS OUT OF AFRICA AND WEE WILL APPLAUD THE AMERICANS. BUT THEY SEND US NO ARMS. IF THE SOVIET UNION HELPS US, IF CUBA HELPS US, WE MUST SAY "THANK YOU FOR THE AID" BECAUSE IT IS FOR US. AFRICA MUST STATE ITS OBJECTIVES AND NOT BE AFRAID TO AFFIRH ITS REFVONSIBILITIES BEFORE HISTORY END QUOTE.

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8. COMMENT: TOURE IS AN EXTREMIST BUT HE IS NOW EXPRESSING A VIEW HELD BY MUCH OF THIS IMPATIENT CONTINENT. HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET INFLUENCE (AND IS PROBABLY NAIVE ABOUT HOW MUCH IT IS TAKING HOLD IN HIS OWN COUNTRY) BUT HE WILL ACCEPT HELP FROM SATAN TO FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA. BELIEVE THIS GADICAL ERRATIC BUT SINGLE-MINDED MAN MAY AGAIN BE ASSERTING MORE INFLUENCE THAN WE HAVE APPRECIATED. WHETHER OR NOT HE SUCCEEDS IN HOLDING HIS BIG MEETING, HE IS SENDING ENVOYS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT AND IS GREETING A STREAM OF VISITORS IN CONAKRY.
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